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was passed, took away some of the renown of victory. For Calhoun it was a misfortune; because after that his reputation always carried the stain of disloyalty to the Union, which was a bar to his future political hopes. The moral effects were important; for while the South had been forced to fix her eyes more steadily than ever before on her sectional interest, the country at large had seen the nullifiers suspended for a moment over a dreadful chasm and every one knew that they were lucky to get their feet on terra firma again. Their experience showed the South, and Calhoun himself, the weakness of the theory that a state could resist the execution of federal law and remain in the Union; and in all the later years of the great controversy that theory was not again brought into service. Special commendation must be given, also, to the discussion of the economic causes behind nullification (II, pp. 40–45).

The reviewer has encountered some proof errors, and he cannot but regret that the publishers did not use better paper and more attractive type in manufacturing a book which deserves such steady use by students of American history. The summaries at the beginning of the chapters are especially unimpressive in type and spacing.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

Smith College.

The Readjuster Movement in Virginia. By Charles C. Pearson, Ph.D. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1917. Pp. viii, 191.)

Dr. Pearson has made an informing study of a transitional period in Virginia history extending roughly from the close of the Civil War to the election of Grover Cleveland as President of the United States. The central fact in the Readjuster Movement was the means of paying the public debt of \$38,000,000, as reported by the governor in his message of December 4, 1865. The state's assets in railroads and canals had been virtually destroyed by the war, the taxing power of the people reduced fully two-thirds; and one-third of the territory had been actually wrested away in the formation of the new state of West Virginia. Under these cruel circumstances, the readjuster principle was thrust forward—"that the state's creditors should be compelled to share in the general loss occasioned by war and reconstruction." The leaders were mainly self-made men of the middle class, marked by energy and political shrewdness. Perhaps the two most

picturesque were "Parson" Massey, and General Mahone, who bossed rather than guided.

While the cause of the Readjuster Movement was primarily fiscal, the effects were largely social, economic and political. It marked the advent of discussion after the paralysis of the Civil War, and discussion invariably sets free the potential energy of a democracy. "For Conservatism was not only a political party, it was also a social code and a state of mind which bound the whites to united and temperate action." As Dr. Pearson clearly points out, "the Radicalism of reconstruction days and the Readjuster Movement a decade later were both democratic protests against the domination of Conservatism."

The period of Readjuster supremacy lasted for four years, 1879–1883. One-third of the debt was set aside for West Virginia. The total remaining debt for old Virginia was \$21,035,377, which was refunded by the Riddleberger bonds dated July 1, 1882, and bearing 3 per cent interest. As a result the tax rate was reduced from 50 to 40 cents, as also liquor licenses, while "public education received such generous treatment that some feared the ruin of denominational schools." Many other measures tended to subserve the interest of the masses and to break the power of wealth and established privilege. The whipping-post was abolished.

In 1882 it became apparent that Mahone's chief object was to "bind the state and hand her over to the Republicans," while the single aim of the Conservatives was to "redeem the state." With Mahone in the United States senate, "the solid South" was unmistakably broken. "This result was attained by a combination of boss, patronage, and negroes." General Fitzhugh Lee "redeemed" the state in 1885, while Daniel and Barbour soon superseded Mahone and Riddleberger in the senate.

Dr. Pearson's style is forceful, and his treatment is clear and interpretative of a critical period in Virginia history.

S. C. MITCHELL.

Delaware College.

Party Organization and Machinery in Michigan since 1890. By A. C. Millspaugh. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series xxxv, No. 3. Pp. 189.)

Until very recently the field of Michigan political history has been little cultivated. Indeed, until the publication in 1912 of Miss Har-